

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MONTEVIDEO 5818

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OAS, UY
SUBJ: OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN MONTEVIDEO OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO
ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY OBJECTIVES

REF: A. STATE 306590 B. MONTEVIDEO 5768

1. THE STANCE AMB. ROCA ASSUMED IN THE CONVERSATION DESCRIBED IN REFTEL A IS NOT SURPRISING. THE PRESS HERE IS ALREADY BEING FED THE LINE THAT WE ARE THE VILLAINS IN THE PIECE, AND URUGUAY AGAIN IS THE RECIPIENT OF INTOLERABLE USG INSULT AND PRESSURE WHICH STEMS FROM OUR MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF CONDITIONS HERE.

2. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE GOU IN INVITING THE OASGA HERE IS TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE IAHRIC AND THE OAS IN ORDER TO ISOLATE THE COMMISSION AND DESTROY ITS POSITION AS THE OFFICIAL OAS BODY SPECIFICALLY CHARGED WITH MONITORING THE HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE OF MEMBER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S. AMB. MCGEE'S MEETING DECEMBER 23 WITH AMB. ROCA CONFIRMS THAT THIS INDEED IS THE CASE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONTEV 05818 241823Z

3. AT THAT MEETING ROCA OFFERED A "COMPROMISE" WHICH IS NOT A COMPROMISE OF THE GOU POSITION ON THE IAHRIC, BUT OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE IAHRIC ITSELF. IF WE PERMIT THE GOU TO CREATE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE IAHRIC TAILORED TO THEIR DEMANDS, WHICH IS WHAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S "SPECIAL COMMISSION" CLEARLY WOULD BE, WE WILL EFFECTIVELY GUT THE IAHRIC. THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH WE HAVE PRESSURED TO ACCEPT THE

IAHRC WILL FEEL BETRAYED AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO OPT FOR A SIMILAR SUBSTITUTE TO THE IAHRC TAILORED TO THEIR SITUATION. THUS, IN OUR VIEW THERE CAN BE NO "COMPROMISE" ON THIS POINT. IF THE PROBLEM IS SIMPLY ONE OF NEGOTIATING THE IMPASSE OVER AN IAHRC VISIT TO URUGUAY, AND THE GOU IS WILLING TO DO THIS, THEN LET THE GOU BEGIN TO DISCUSS WHATEVER "NEXT STEPS" MAY BE POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE SUCH A VISIT WITH THE COMMISSION AND THE OAS SECRETARY GENERAL.

4. I RECOMMEND THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH AMB. ROCA FOCUS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUE. IF THE OASGA IS WELCOME BY THE GOU THEN ITS HUMAN RIGHTS ORGAN (THE IAHRC) MUST ALSO BE WELCOME HERE. ACCORDINGLY, THE ONLY "COMPROMISE" OPTION WHICH WE SHOULD FAVOR IS USG SUPPORT FOR THE GOU INVITATION TO THE OASGA AND A WILLINGNESS TO SEND AN APPROPRIATE HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVE IN EXCHANGE FOR THE GOU AGREEING TO ACCEPT AN IAHRC VISIT, WHOSE TERMS OF REFERENCE WOULD BE ARRANGED WITH THE IAHRC AND THE OAS, AS WAS RECENTLY DONE BY PARAGUAY.

5. I BELIEVE THIS COMPROMISE OPTION SHOULD NOT BE PURSUED THROUGH USG NEGOTIATIONS WITH AMB. ROCA, TO DO SO ACCORDS WITH OBVIOUS GOU STRATEGY OF TREATING THIS AS A BILATERAL RATHER THAN A MULTILATERAL PROBLEM. STORIES IN THE PRO-GOVERNMENT PRESS ON DEC. 23, 24 QUOTING OFFICIAL SOURCES ALREADY TREAT THIS AS A BILATERAL DIPLOMATIC MATTER WITH THE GOU RESISTING

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MONTEV 05818 241823Z

STATE DEPARTMENT MANEUVERS. INSTEAD, WE SHOULD RALLY OUR HUMAN RIGHTS ALLIES IN THE OAS, CONSTITUTE A BLOCKING ONE-THIRD, AND THEN CONFRONT THE URUGUAYAN REPRESENTATIVES AS A GROUP WITH THE FIRM POSITION OF ACCEPTING GOU INVITATION TO HOLD OASGA IN URUGUAY IN RETURN FOR ITS COMMITMENT TO PERMIT AN IAHRC VISIT.

6. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THIS UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENT OFFERS OPPORTUNITIES WHICH TRANSCEND THE OAS AND THE SITE FOR A GA SESSION. IN REACHING OUT OF THEIR INCREASING ISOLATION, THE GOU TOOK AN ACTION IN OFFERING TO HOST THE OASGA WHICH IT HOPED WOULD BYPASS THE IAHRC AND EXPLOIT HIGH-LEVEL HEMISPHERIC REPRESENTATION TO PROVE ITS CASE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT ITS INITIATIVE TO ATTRACT THE PRESENCE OF THE HIGHEST HEMISPHERIC BODY, OFFERS US TACTICAL POSSIBILITIES TO EXPLOIT. WE SHOULD ASUME THAT IF THE GOU WANTS THE PRESTIGE ATTENDANT TO HOSTING A OASGA HERE SO BADLY, IT MIGHT BE WILLING TO PAY A FAIRLY HIGH PRICE. THE PRICE WE SHOULD EXTRACT FOR OUR SUPPORT OF ITS OFFER SHOULD BE A GUARANTEE THAT THE IAHRC WILL BE ACCEPTED HERE. THIS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. IN THE FACE OF GOU REFUSAL TO EVEN CONSIDER THE IAHRC WE HAVE

BEEN UNABLE TO PURSUE THIS OBJECTIVE. WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY
TO PERHAPS TRADE THE THEATER THE GOU WANTS BADLY FOR
THE OBJECTIVES WE HAVE BEEN SEEKING.
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